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The Min Chia townsmen are in fact really members of families who are landowners in the country, while many of the richer merchants have invested their profits in land and become landlords, and moneylenders, in the villages. These families with rural and urban connections can be classified broadly into three groups. Firstly there are small farmers whose land is not sufficient to support the whole family, and who have opened little shops in the city to supplement their incomes. They usually engage in trades such as tailoring, selling ready made clothes, or keep small tobacco shops which also sell straw sandals, string, fruit, and sweetmeats, in other words things which can be made by the women of the family itself and do not require capital. The turnover of such shops is very small, but the women can supply most of the stock and attend to the shop at the same time.

A family named Yang, pronounced "Ya" by the Min Chia are typical of this class. Min Chia by speech and descent they are the younger collateral branch of a widespread family, the senior branch of which is considered wealthy by Ta Li standards. They are thus connected by marriage with most of the well to do families in the city and neighbourhood, both "Chinese" and Min Chia. As is often the case at present, the original holding of land has been sub-divided on the death of the senior members of the last generation so that the share of the land belonging to this branch is only ten *mu*, or less than two acres. They had further suffered, in common with most of their neighbours, very heavy losses when their home, in one of the lake-side villages, was burnt and wrecked by the earthquake of 1925. The parents are both living, but the father, now elderly, suffers from some internal complaint, and is an invalid. There are three sons and one daughter. Two of the sons are adult, and therefore married, the daughter, though now eighteen years old, has not yet married, but will be within a year. The youngest son

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565 369 423 443 is a schoolboy. This family although now very hard pressed for money belongs to the educated class, and therefore all the sons have been given education up to the middle school grade, and are of course literate in Chinese. The eldest has for some years been a school teacher, in China a very respected and honourable, but badly paid profession, the second son, who is married to the daughter of a much wealthier family, is a secretary in the office of the Garrison Headquarters.

Their land is worked by an uncle, his son and the wives, while the old mother assisted by her daughter (still unmarried), and by the elder sons in their spare time, keeps a tailoring shop in the city which also sells a few ready made clothes. Behind this shop they have a very small town house, but half the family is always in the country village by the lake, and other members constantly come and go, sometimes every day, between the two homes, which are three miles apart. There is of course no other means of transport except walking, unless a mule or a litter is hired, an extravagance which they would not undertake unless in case of sickness. As both the elder sons already have families of young children, and there are only two members of the family gainfully employed (if the microscopic salaries of a teacher and a clerk can be so described), this family is hard pressed. During the planting season and at harvest not only the wives, but also the sons go out and help on the land, and though no stigma attaches to educated people doing rough farm work, it is not usual for them to do it unless the necessity is great.

565 369 423 647 The second class of family with city and village homes is composed of wealthy farmers who live in the city for comfort. The Wang family, related to the Yangs just discussed, are of this class. The second of the Yang sons is married to a younger daughter of the Wang family, whose land and

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country home is in the next village along the shore of the lake. The two families are intimate and friendly although one is very much wealthier than the other. The Wangs, or "Wa", as they, being Min Chia, would pronounce the name themselves, are large landowners and have official connections. One of their members is now a magistrate in a city of eastern Yunnan, another now living at home, was formerly a magistrate in the same part of the province, and others hold official posts in K'un Ming, the provincial capital. Their country house, rebuilt since the earthquake, is large, well furnished and substantial. Whereas the Yang family have only been able to rebuild a third of their home, the Wang family have also a large house in the city where most of them spend their time, because they find it more lively than the rustic seclusion of their native village.

The third class, of which another family, the Li, are an example, are the city families with investments in land. The Li are Chinese, that is to say they are Chinese on the paternal side, but related on the distaff side to Min Chia families, including the Yang family mentioned above. They do not 'speak Min Chia', they will tell you although as a matter of fact they understand it quite well if they want to. The family are the pawnbrokers of the city and as such considered very wealthy. The late head of the family was a major in the Yunnan provincial army, and the present head of the family served in the army as a captain. This family, being Chinese although long settled in Ta Li (for about four centuries), does not possess any ancestral lands in the country, but as a result of their business operations and the foreclosure of mortgages they do in fact own land in various places on the Ta Li plain. This land of course they rent out, receiving the rice rents in kind, and neither living in the country themselves or having any other connection than ownership with their land.

direction of their sorcerers and elders. This, this writer believes, is the most valuable part of the Ch'iang culture.

/10/ Although the material life and the social system of the Ch'iang are more Sinicized, yet we can still find in them some characteristics of the Ch'iang culture. The Ch'iang tribesmen are now mostly farmers, but they have not yet abandoned the habit of "shepherds". It is said that before the Communists' invasion, their pastoral economy was often more important than their agriculture. Judging from the fact that the Ch'iang tribesmen now remain both pastoral and agricultural, we may say that the statement in history books that the Ch'iang tribesmen were either aborigines or immigrants is reliable. They have not changed the custom of "living beside a hill and building houses with stones," nor have they changed their anarchic and classless social order, if this is what is meant by the "non-existence of king-subject and superior-inferior relationships." As to the assertion that "they have no definite family names, some use their father's given names and mother's surnames as their family names," it is also attested by the names of ruined places which were derived from family names, and by the way they adopt their individual names. Economically, the Ch'iang obviously have reached the stage of having family units. Yet, from the standpoint of their custom of working together and their spirit of mutual concern, they retain some habits of the clan age. Also, according to the marriage code, the clan is still a unit in exogamy. (People of the same clan are not allowed to marry each other.)

Nowadays a Ch'iang village is no longer identical with a clan. There are several different clans in almost every village. (It is said that before the Manchus conquered Ching-ch'uan, there were still some villages with only one clan.) However, each village has its specific local god, sorcerers, and festival activities. This is due to the fact that the traditional culture has not changed although the composition of the village population has. There are many cases like this in anthropology. Now let us take a look at the content of the cultural heritage of the Ch'iang tribesmen.

I. Analysis of the Gods Worshiped by the Ch'iang

The Ch'iang are a ghost-and god-worshiping people. They believe that there are gods everywhere, such as family gods, local gods, and the individual or local guardian gods. If divided according to their nature, there are good gods and evil spirits, if classified in